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ABSTRACT

This report describes a study that investigated empirically the relationships between selected aspects of the organizational structure of elementary schools and the extent to which students endorsed the norm of universalism. Four aspects of structure were studied: degree of departmentalization, school enrollment, student-teacher ratio, and extent of the administrative hierarchy. The norm of universalism was operationalized both for personal nonschool situations and for situations in the adult world. The data were collected from questionnaire responses of 1,400 6th grade students in 30 urban schools. For students who rejected universalism for personal nonschool situations, the data analysis revealed a positive relationship between the size of the school enrollment and the extent to which students endorsed the norm of universalism for situations in the adult world. (Author)

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THE ACCEPTANCE OF UNIVERSALISM: THE IMPORTANCE OF SELECTED ASPECTS OF SCHOOL STRUCTURE

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Controversies exist among educators as to the nature and significance of the relationships between aspects of school structure and what children learn from their schooling. Some contend that the school's structure has a major influence on learning, while others hold that teachers themselves have the major effect. Even if the latter is true, the school's structural properties determine, in part, the manner in which children and teachers are brought together. In recent years, forces, both within and without education, have resulted in many new and modified forms of school structure. In changing school systems, educators need to understand the effects of different organizational forms on the development of the child. The purpose of this paper is to describe a study which attempted to contribute to the understanding of the effects of the organizational structure of schools on what is learned by students in school.

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Usually, student learning is viewed in terms of meeting instructional objectives as described in curriculum guides. A second aspect of student learning lies in the principles of conduct or social norms acquired by children as a result of their schooling. Although theorists have speculated as to the important relationship between school structure and the learning of social norms (Parsons, 1959; Dreeben, 1968),

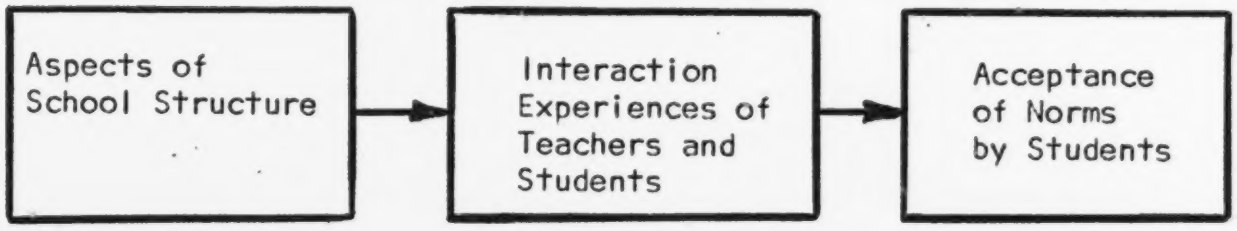
empirical research of such relationships is virtually non-existent. The study, described here, investigated empirically several of the relationships between certain aspects of the organizational structure of elementary schools and the learning of the norm of universalism by students.

The study focussed on the notion of universalism since many situations in modern industrial societies seem to require behavior based on universalistic norms (Parsons and Shils, 1951; Goode, 1963; Blau, 1967; Hills, 1968). In general, to say that a person has learned the norm of universalism is to say that, with respect to certain specific issues, the individual feels that people ought to be treated as members of categories with little consideration for individual differences (Dreeben, 1968, p. 74). In the study, the elementary school was examined since it has been seen as one of the agencies whose major functions include the inculcation of social norms in the members of the on-coming generation (Parsons, 1959; Elkin, 1960; Greenstein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967). Furthermore, theorists such as Dreeben (1968) contend that experiences resulting from the way the school is structured, allow children to acquire universalistic and other norms which are necessary if, as adults they are to function in the world of occupations and politics.

The theorizing related to this study may be described briefly in terms of the sequence of events depicted in Figure 1. Interest is concentrated on those particular aspects of the organizational structure of schools which may influence the way in which children and teachers interact thereby contributing to the definition of role behavior and the internalization of norms underlying the role behavior. As the study focussed on universalistic norms, consideration was given to several

FIGURE 1

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS FROM SCHOOL STRUCTURE
TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF NORMS BY STUDENTS



aspects of school structure which, when present in a school, may encourage student and teacher role behavior based on universalistic norms. The conceptualization of the sequence of events from school structure to norm acceptance is pictured from left to right in Figure 1. As a consequence of the school's structure, certain types of student-student and student-teacher interactions are favored above others. That is, a school structured in a certain way encourages certain types of student and teacher roles. By attending school, students may learn to take these roles and internalize the underlying norms. The figure also suggests that if two schools are quantitatively different with respect to an aspect of structure, then the experiences of students will be different in the two schools, and, therefore, students in the two schools may internalize the same norm to different degrees.

In the study, the main interest was on the relationships between variables related to the first and third sections of Figure 1. However, in order to identify aspects of school organization for investigation, it was helpful to consider which sorts of school experiences might contribute to a child's learning the norm of universalism. As suggested by the definition of universalism given earlier, a person, in adopting universalistic norms, believes that in certain specific situations it is proper to treat people on the basis of their membership in

a group, provided that each member of the group receives the same treatment. Thus, a child may learn and adopt universalistic norms by being treated on the basis of his membership in a group and by orienting himself toward others on the basis of their membership in a group. The experience of being treated as a member of a group is available to students in elementary school. Groups may be defined by means of a physical setting such as a classroom, as well as by means of the accomplishment of a task such as the learning of grade six mathematics. These sorts of group experiences at school introduce the notion of equal treatment for group members since, for the most part, it is expected that all children receive the same treatment from the classroom teacher. Thus, being treated as a member of a group at school supports the key concepts underlying universalistic norms. Furthermore, it was postulated in the study that the greater the amount of group treatment received, the greater the extent of the acceptance of universalistic norms. The amount of group treatment which children receive at school should increase with increases in the number and kinds of groups experienced at school and with increases in the frequency with which children move from one group to another. The problem for the study at this point was to identify several aspects of the organizational structure of schools which might be related to the amount of group treatment received by students. Of the many aspects, four aspects were chosen for investigation: (1) school size, (2) student-teacher ratio, (3) type of organization for learning, and (4) the amount of vice-principal assistance to the principal.

1. Size of the School

The size of the elementary school was represented by its total enrolment. Increasing size may result in increasing the amount of group treatment in two ways. First, the larger the school, the larger will be the number of different student-teacher groups and, therefore, the greater will be the chance for a student to have experience as a member of different categories. Second, with respect to student background characteristics, the larger school usually possesses a more heterogeneous student body than does the smaller school. Being treated as a member of a group in which individual characteristics are highly varied, should make each person more aware of the group experience than if he were in a more homogeneous group. Therefore, it was hypothesized that, other things being equal, the greater the size of the school, the greater the acceptance of the norm of universalism on the part of students.

2. Student-teacher Ratio

As the student-teacher ratio increases, classes become larger. Therefore, it seems likely that the amount of individual or particularistic treatment which a student receives from a teacher will decrease. It was postulated that, with larger classes, the teacher likely will narrow his range of interest in each child to specific issues most closely related to the teaching of his subject. Therefore, it was hypothesized that, other things being equal, the greater the student-teacher ratio, the greater will be the acceptance of the norm of universalism on the part of students.

3. Organization for Teaching

Three types of organization for teaching were considered in this study. The types are the rotary organization, the traditional organization, and the open plan organization. In the rotary organization, each class of students rotates each day to a number of different teachers in different rooms. Each of these teachers is responsible for a different subject area of the curriculum. In the traditional organization, each class of students is under the instruction of one teacher in one classroom for an entire academic year. The main feature of the open plan organization is the preparation of an individualized time table for each student. Each student's time table provides him with opportunities for individual project work as well as work in study groups of various sizes. Another way of relating the three organization types to one another is by placing each type on a continuum which runs from low to high in degree of departmentalization by subject matter. The rotary school may be placed at the high end of the departmentalization continuum since teacher in these schools tend to specialize in a subject area. The open plan school with its inter-disciplinary study groups may be placed at the low end of the departmentalization continuum. The traditional school takes up a middle position on the continuum since classroom teachers in these schools tend to present the material of the curriculum in subject matter units.

The rotary schools rather than the traditional or open plan schools, offer a higher possibility of transient, highly specific, non-personal relationships developing between teacher and students. The rotating class system of the rotary school is designed so that, each day, the student has experience in a large number of sharply defined

pupil-teacher categories. In the traditional school, a pupil has experiences in just one pupil-teacher category each year, although he is aware of other pupil-teacher groups in the same school. Of all school types, the open plan organization is designed to define least sharply the different pupil-teacher groups. It follows, therefore, that in ranking the organizational types from high to low in the amount of group treatment provided for students, one may place the high departmentalized rotary school followed by the medium departmentalized traditional school which is followed by the low departmentalized open plan school. Therefore, it was hypothesized that, other things being equal, the greater the degree of school departmentalization, the greater will be the acceptance of the norm of universalism on the part of students.

4. The Non-teaching Administrative Positions

The greater the number of non-teaching administrative positions in the school, the greater the opportunity for students to orient toward persons in terms of their position rather than in terms of individual characteristics. Therefore, it was hypothesized that, other things being equal, the greater the number of non-teaching administrative positions in a school, the greater will be the acceptance of the norm of universalism on the part of students.

Two important background factors which may be related to the learning of norms and which may, at the same time, display inter-school variation are the scholastic aptitude of students (S.A.) and the socio-economic status of students (S.E.S.). Since the study was interested in school effects, S.A. and S.E.S. were held constant during the analyses in

order to assess the effects of school structure above and beyond that of S.A. and S.E.S. To summarize this introduction, the specific hypotheses for the study are assembled below.

H_1: With S.A. and S.E.S. held constant, there is a positive relationship between the size of the school and the students' acceptance of the norm of universalism.

H_2: With S.A. and S.E.S. held constant, there is a positive relationship between the student-teacher ratio and the students' acceptance of the norm of universalism.

H_3: With S.A. and S.E.S. held constant, there is a positive relationship between the degree of school departmentalization and the students' acceptance of the norm of universalism.

H_4: With S.A. and S.E.S. held constant, there is a positive relationship between the number of non-teaching administrative positions in a school and the students' acceptance of the norm of universalism.

The Sample and the Questionnaire

The students for this study were selected as follows. First, a stratified random sample of elementary schools was selected from urban-suburban areas in southern Ontario. The two way stratification was on the basis of (1) two levels of school size: under and over a total enrolment of 400 students and (2) three types of organization for teaching: open plan; traditional; and rotary organization. Second, in each school so selected, two grade six classes were selected at random to represent the student body of the school. As a result of this process the total sample consisted of some 1400 grade six students in thirty elementary schools.

The extent of student acceptance of universalism was inferred from their responses to a questionnaire containing 31 items. By means of a five point Likert scale, the student endorsed or rejected a universalistic orientation toward the situations described in each of the items. Most of the items came from a questionnaire devised by Haller and Thorson (1968). In addition to the 31 norm acceptance items, 19 items were included in an attempt to assess the extent to which each child felt that he had received universalistic treatment at school. A pre-test of the questionnaire had ensured that children at the grade six level understood the items and the instructions on the questionnaire.

Analysis of the Data

The analysis took place in three main stages in an attempt to access the hypotheses.

Analysis: Stage I

In this stage an attempt was made to assess the factor structure of the norm of universalism by means of a principal components analysis of the 31 universalism items. This analysis was followed by a varimax rotation of the factors with latent roots greater than unity. The components analysis seemed to be a prudent first step in light of earlier studies which have revealed the complexity of the factor structure of this norm (Park, 1967). The analysis produced six factors with latent roots greater than unity. The first two factors, which accounted for 15 and 10 percent respectively of the total item variance, were interpreted readily from their item loadings. The first factor was interpreted as indicating the extent of the students' acceptance of

universalism for situations in the adult world. The second factor was interpreted as indicating the extent of the students' acceptance of universalism for their personal world outside of school. Since it was difficult to interpret the remaining four factors, the remainder of the analysis concentrated on the first two factors of universalism. Factor scores were calculated for each student on the first two factors of universalism.

A principal components analysis of the 19 items related to the students' universalistic experiences at school produced six factors with latent roots greater than unity. The three largest factors accounted for 11, 10, and 8 percent respectively of the total item variation. The factors were interpreted as indicating: (1) the amount of group work which the students felt they had participated in at school; (2) the students' perception of the extent to which authority figures at school behave universalistically; and (3) the extent of the difficulty students encountered in making and keeping new friends at school.

Analysis: Stage II

In this stage, an attempt was made to assess the research hypotheses by means of multiple linear regression. Two regression models were constructed for each of the hypotheses. The first model contained the factor scores of the students on the first factor of universalism. As predictors, the first model for each hypothesis employed the scholastic aptitude and the socio-economic measures for each student, as well as, the measure for each student's school of that aspect of school structure which was being investigated by the hypothesis. The second model for each hypothesis involved the same predictors but the criterion was made

up of the student scores on the second factor of universalism. None of the research hypotheses were confirmed through an examination of these models. This resulted from the fact that, in each case, the school structure measures together with the S.A. and S.E.S. measures did not explain a significantly greater amount of the criterion variance than did the S.A. and S.E.S. measures acting as the sole predictors of the criterion. Thus, a second method was sought for examining the hypotheses by means of these data.

Analysis: Stage III

One problem, which has to be solved in any attempt to understand the reasons for the acceptance of the norm of universalism, was the problem of devising a means for dealing with the multidimensional nature of this norm. In Stage II of the analysis this problem was resolved by assuming the dimensions of the norm to be independent. Then, an attempt was made to explain each of the two dimensions separately in terms of the aspects of school structure. The fact that no clear results were found suggested that an independent examination of each universalistic dimension might not have been appropriate. A more precise method of analysis might lie in attempting to explain one of the universalistic dimensions by means of both the other dimension and the aspects of school structure. Since, the aim of the socializing function of the school has been seen as providing students with the modes of thought which will support the processes of the adult society, the major aim of the analysis presented in this section was to explain the extent of childrens' acceptance of the norm of universalism in the adult world in terms of both the aspects of school structure and the childrens'

acceptance of the norm in their everyday world. In other words, what was being hypothesized here was that, at a given level of acceptance of universalism for personal, everyday situations, the relationship between acceptance of the norm for adult situations and an aspect of school structure, may not be the same as at the other levels of acceptance for personal situations.

In order to accomplish this analysis, student groups in each school were partitioned into four sub-groups. To prepare for the partitioning, two scores were calculated for each child. One score represented, by inference, the extent of his acceptance of universalism for adult situations and the other score represented his acceptance of universalism in non-school, everyday situations. If a child received a high score on one of the universalism dimensions, it meant that he accepted the norm for the situation, adult world or personal world, which the dimension describes. A low score meant that the child rejected the norm for the situation described by the dimension. The childrens' scores on the two dimensions of universalism were correlated now whereas the two dimensions, as operationalized by the factor scores in Stage II, were independent of one another. Since the object of the third stage of analysis was not to explain each dimension of universalism in separate analysis, it was not necessary to construct independent measures of the different dimensions of universalism. The two scores for each student provided the means of partitioning the student group in each school into four sub-groups.

First, the student body in each school was divided into two sub-groups. One sub-group contained all students in the school who were above the mean for all students on the scores which represented the degree of acceptance of universalism for personal, non-school situations.

The other sub-group contained all students in the school who were below the mean for all students on the same score. Thus, in each school, two sub-groups of students were identified, one sub-group of students accepted universalism in personal, non-school situations and the other sub-group rejected the norm for personal, non-school situations. Next, both of the sub-groups so identified in each school were divided into two sub-groups on the basis of whether students were above or below the mean for all students on scores which represented the degree of acceptance of universalism for adult situations. At this point, the student body in each school was divided into four sub-groups.

The partition of the student body on the basis of personal acceptance permitted an investigation of the relationship between school structure and acceptance of the norm for adult situations within two different levels of personal acceptance. The partition of the student bodies on the basis of adult acceptance provided a means of constructing two indices for each school. These indices indicated the extent of acceptance of the norm for adult situations. One index was constructed for the students in the school who accepted universalism for personal, non-school situations and the second index was constructed for students in the school who rejected this aspect of universalism. The two indices for each school took the form of a percentage. The first percentage indicated the extent to which endorsement of universalism exceeded rejection of universalism in adult situations for the group of students all of whom endorse universalism for personal situations. The second percentage for each school indicated the extent to which endorsement of universalism exceeded rejection of universalism in adult situations for the group of students all of whom rejected universalism

for personal situations. As an example, the calculations of the two percentages for one school are shown in Figure 2. As a consequence of this method of constructing the indices, negative percentages occurred where the majority of the students under consideration rejected the norm of universalism for the adult world.

The construction of the two indices for each school provided a measure of the extent of the acceptance of universalism for adult situations in each of two levels of student acceptance of the norm for personal, non-school situations. By examining inter-school differences in these percentages in terms of the measures of school structure, one is attempting to explain acceptance of the norm for adult situations in terms of both school structure measures and the acceptance of the norm for personal, non-school situations. Completing this examination was, as stated earlier, the major aim of this stage of the analysis. Of the four aspects of school structure, only school size, as measured by the total student enrolment, contributed significantly to an explanation of the acceptance of the norm for adult situations. Therefore, the results of the analysis with respect to school size are presented in the remainder of this section. A graph was plotted to show the relationship between the acceptance of universalism in adult situations, as represented by the percentages calculated for each school, against the size of each school. This graph is shown in Figure 3. Student groups which accepted universalism for personal, non-school situations are plotted with solid circles (●) beside the school number, while student groups which reject universalism for personal situations are plotted with hollow circles (○). Consider the two groups of students in School 16. The group of students in this school who rejected universalism for

FIGURE 2

A SAMPLE CALCULATION OF THE SCHOOL INDICES

1. The distribution of the grade six student body in the four sub-groups

Personal Situations	Adult Situations: Accept	Adult Situations: Reject	Total
	(X)	(Y)	
Accept	16	5	21 Students
	(A)	(B)	
Reject	19	14	33 Students

2. Calculation of the Percentage Indices

(i) Percentage for the level of personal acceptance

$$\frac{X - Y}{X + Y} \times 100 = \frac{16 - 5}{16 + 5} \times 100 = \frac{11}{21} \times 100 = 52.3\%$$

(ii) Percentage for the level of personal rejection

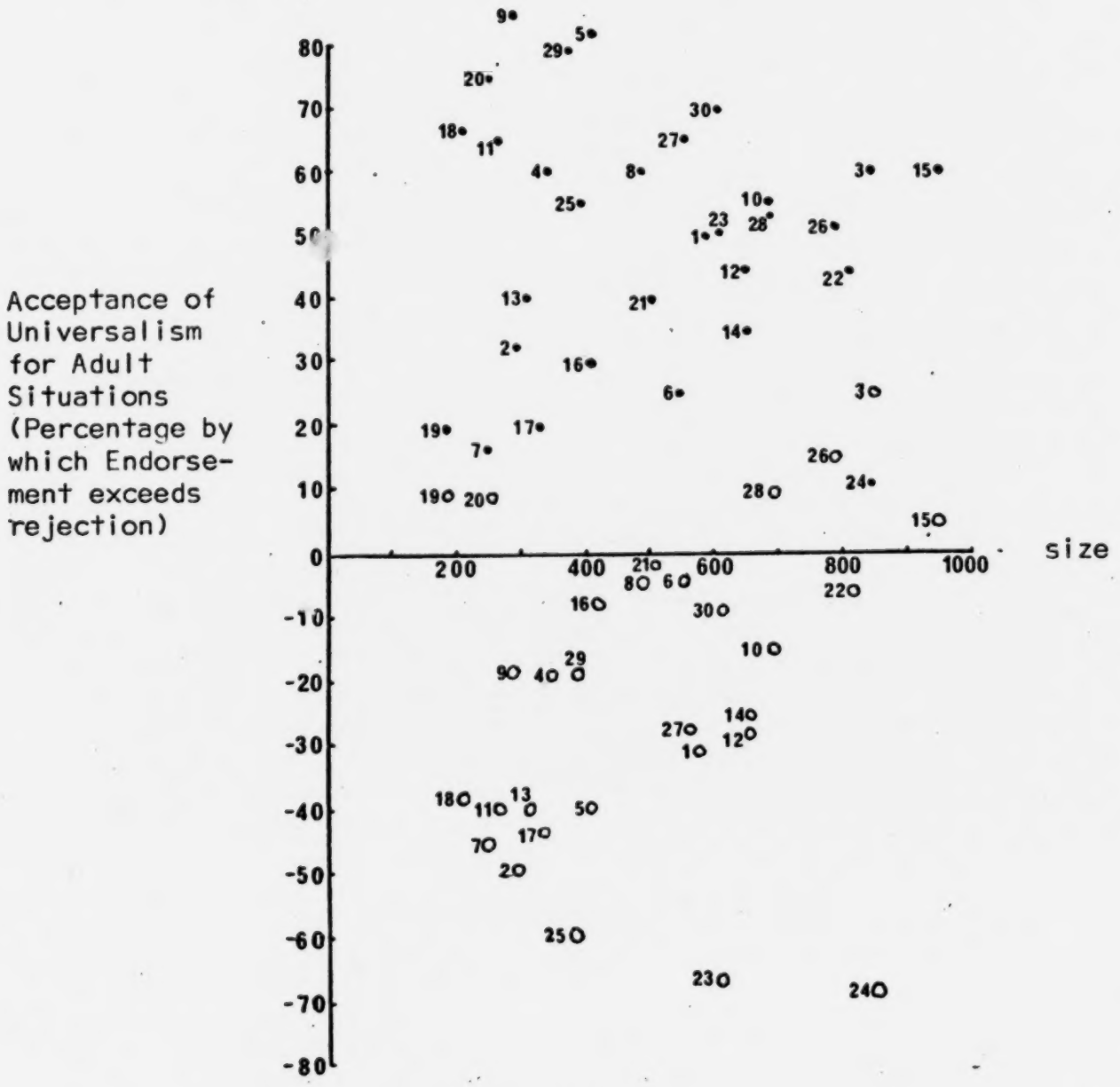
$$\frac{A - B}{A + B} \times 100 = \frac{19 - 14}{19 + 14} \times 100 = \frac{5}{33} \times 100 = 15.2\%$$

personal situations is plotted at approximately -10 percent on the vertical axis. This means that, in the group of students in School 16 who rejected universalism for personal situations, 55 percent of the students rejected and 45 percent of the students accepted universalism for adult situations. The group of students in School 16 who accepted universalism for personal situations is plotted at +30 percent. This means that, in the group of students in School 16 who accepted universalism for personal situations, 65 percent accepted and 35 percent rejected universalism for adult situations.

At first glance, Figure 3 revealed that, in each school, students who endorsed universalism for personal situations also endorsed universalism for adult situations and vice versa. However, other patterns existed in Figure 3. First, it was noted that a trend existed with respect to the group of children who rejected universalism for personal situations. In these groups, there appeared to be a trend toward acceptance of universalism for adult situations as school size increased. Four schools did not appear to be included in this trend. Schools 19 and 20 were above the pattern and Schools 23 and 24 were below the pattern. As far as the groups of children who accepted universalism for personal situations were concerned, there appeared to be no clear relationship between school size and the extent of acceptance of universalism for adult situations. The correlations between size of schools and the acceptance of universalism for adult situations was calculated for each of the two levels of norm acceptance for personal situations. Since Schools 19, 20, 23, and 24 could be considered as deviant cases, each correlation was calculated twice once for the total sample of thirty schools and once for the sample with the four, possibly

FIGURE 3

ACCEPTANCE OF UNIVERSALISM FOR ADULT SITUATIONS PLOTTED AGAINST SCHOOL SIZE AT TWO LEVELS OF ACCEPTANCE FOR PERSONAL SITUATIONS



NOTE: Student groups accepting universalism for personal situations are plotted, by school, with solid dots (●). Student groups rejecting universalism for personal situations are plotted, by school, with hollow dots (o).

deviant, cases removed. The correlations are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ACCEPTANCE OF UNIVERSALISM FOR ADULT SITUATIONS AND SCHOOL SIZE[a]

Sample Size	Universalism for Personal Situations Accepted	Rejected
30 schools	-.007	.065
26 schools	.096	.670**[b]

[a]The correlation is calculated for each of two levels of acceptance of universalism for personal situations. The two levels are defined as acception or rejection.

[b]Double asterisks signify the 0.01 level of significance.

Of the four correlations in Table 1 only the correlation between school size and acceptance of universalism for adult situations, in student groups which rejected universalism for personal situations, was significant beyond the 0.05 probability level when the four schools which were considered to be deviant cases were omitted from the calculations. In the 26 groups of students rejecting personal universalism, the partial correlation between school size and adult acceptance was found to be equal to 0.664 after the mean group scores for the S.A. and S.E.S. measures were partialed from the raw correlation. Thus, the strong relationship between school size and adult acceptance appears to remain after the effects of these background measures have been removed.

In summary it can be said that, excluding the four deviant cases, there appeared to be a positive relationship between acceptance

of universalism for adult situations and the school size for student groups which rejected universalism for personal situations. It was true that the majority of students who rejected the norm for personal situations still rejected the norm for adult situations but there was a clear trend toward acceptance with increasing school size. Although there was no clear relationship for student groups which accepted the norm for personal situations, the majority of students in such groups endorsed the norm for adult situations. Finally, this stage of the analysis resulted in partial confirmation of the research hypothesis dealing with school size. The confirmation was partial because the relationship between norm acceptance for the adult world and school size was found to exist only for those groups of students who rejected universalism for personal, non-school situations. The remainder of the hypotheses were not confirmed in this analysis.

Analysis: Stage IV

As a subsidiary analysis, an attempt was made to account for the deviance of schools from the pattern which emerged for most student groups which rejected universalism for personal situations. Schools 19 and 20 were small traditional schools and were the nearest to being classified as rural schools of all the schools in the sample. Both of these schools were on the edge of a suburban -urban area. Schools 23 and 24 were inner-city schools with rotary organizations. With these four schools removed from the sample, the remaining schools were located in less industralized areas of cities or in suburban areas. The groups rejecting personal universalism in the deviant schools were compared with the groups rejecting personal universalism in schools of similar

size and organizational type which fell within the pattern suggested by Figure 3. Thus, Schools 19 and 20 were compared with Schools 11 and 18, all of which were small traditional schools. Schools 23 and 24 were compared with Schools 22, 26, and 28, all of which were large rotary schools. The comparisons were made with respect to S.A. and S.E.S. scores and also with respect to students' perceptions of their experiences at school as measured by each of the three experience factors calculated in Stage I of the analysis. Comparisons were made by treating, in turn, each of the S.A., S.E.S., and experience measures as the criterion to be predicted in a multiple linear regression equation. Categorial variables, one for each school involved in the comparison, were used to predict each of the criteria. By examining the results of each regression equation it was possible to identify ways in which the deviate schools differed from similar schools in the pattern suggested in Figure 3. The results and interpretation of this analysis may be summarized with reference to Figure 4. The positive relation between acceptance and school size is shown by the dotted line together with both the deviant school groups and the groups in schools with the same organization for teaching but which fell into the positive relationship. An arrow is shown for each variable which explained in part, the displacement of the deviant school groups. The arrows for the variables point in the direction of the groups which have higher scores for that variable. For example, students in groups 19 and 20 scored higher on the S.A. measure than did student groups 11 and 18.

On the basis of schools size, one might expect that groups 19 and 20 would tend to reject universalism in adult situations to the same extent as groups 11 and 18. Instead, groups 19 and 20 accepted

adult universalism to a much greater degree. In part, the greater endorsement by groups 19 and 20 were explained by the fact that students in groups 19 and 20 had higher S.A. scores than students in groups 11 and 18 and that groups 19 and 20 contained students who, according to scores on Experience Factor II, perceived, to a greater extent than did students in groups 11 and 18, that adults in school applied rules and assigned work in a universalistic manner.

On the basis of school size one might expect that groups 23 and 24 would tend to accept universalism in adult situations to the same extent as groups 22, 26, and 28. Instead, groups 23 and 24 rejected universalism in adult situations to a much greater extent. In part, the greater rejector was explained by student scores on Experience Factor III which showed, by inference, that students in groups 23 and 24, to a much greater extent than students in groups 22, 26, and 28, felt that it was difficult to get to know their teachers and to make and keep new friends at school. Also, inferred from student scores on Experience Factor I, was the conclusion that students in groups 23 and 24, to a greater extent than students in groups 22, 26, and 28, felt that they did a great deal of their work in very large groups in which everyone did the same thing at the same time instead of working in smaller groups or on individual projects.

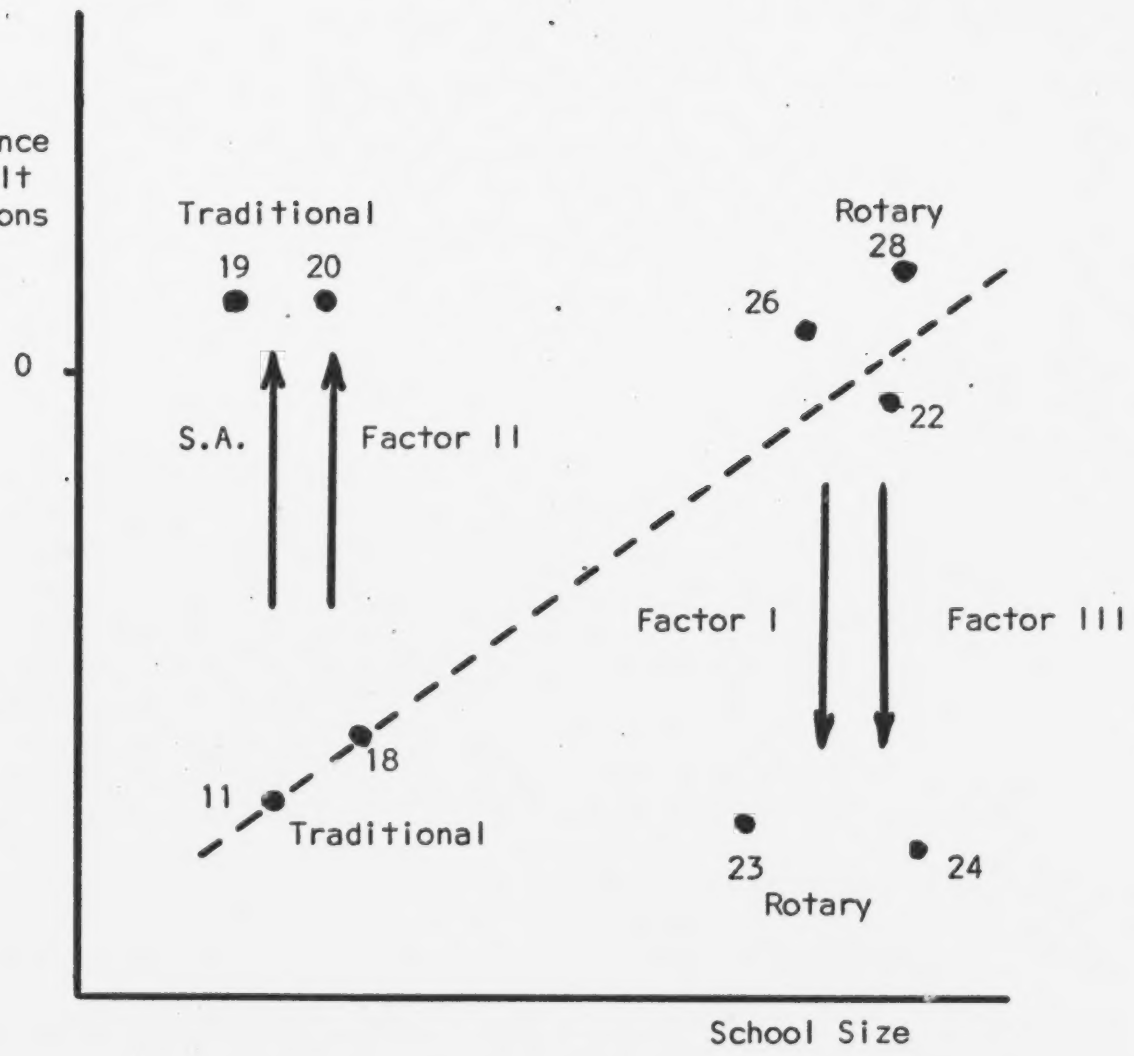
Most of the explanations for the deviant cases were in accord with the general notions of universalism and the notions about acquiring norms through experiences. The group of students in schools 19 and 20, who perceived adults at school to be acting in a universalistic manner, endorsed adult universalism to a greater extent than did students in groups 11 and 18. Such correspondences between the intensity of

experience and acceptance of the norm embodied in the experience were predicted by the theorizing outlined earlier. Also, children in groups 19 and 20 displayed higher S.A. Scores than did children in groups 11 and 18. If schools, in general, attempt to socialize children to the acceptance of universalism, then children with greater aptitude for learning may be more likely to learn and accept the norm from their school experiences than will children who have less scholastic ability.

According to scores on Factor III, children in groups 22, 26, and 28 perceived school to be a more friendly place than did students in groups 23 and 24. If students were alienated from an unpleasant school situation they would not be likely to endorse norms which governed inter-personal relationships in the school. As suggested by student scores on Experience Factor I in the rotary schools, being in a relatively larger work group with everybody doing the same thing at the same time does not contribute to student endorsement of universalism for adult situations to the extent as does working in smaller groups or working on individual projects. This finding is somewhat at variance with the notion that the size of the group in which one works is the key factor in influeicing the acceptance of this norm. Working in a group seems important but, a group which is smaller than the standard classroom group of thirty students and one teacher might be more likely to provide the experiences which would support the norm of universalism. Perhaps this could come about by the smaller groups providing an opportunity for greater involvement for each individual in group activity, thereby resulting in a greater commitment of each individual to group norms. Also, the child working on an individual project is not a completely free agent. He must share material and teacher

FIGURE 4

SUMMARY OF THE INVESTIGATION OF THE
DEVIANT CASES



resources with others and, consequently, he must learn to think of himself as one of a group of persons who are sharing these resources. In this way, individua project work might contribute to acceptance of universalism by children.

Summarizing to this point, one can say that, other things being equal, a positive relationship existed between school size and the extent of the acceptance of universalism for adult situations in those groups which contained students who rejected universalism for personal, non-school situations. When other things were not equal, groups of students appeared which deviated from the above relationship. Some of the variables which explained the deviance were student scholastic aptitude scores and students' perceptions of: (1) the extent to which adults act universalistically at school, (2) the amount of group work at school, and (3) the extent to which it is possible to get to know teachers and to make and keep new friends at school.

Other Aspects of Organizational Structure

Several of the aspects of organizational structure of schools did not help to account for the normative outcome of acceptance of universalism for adult situations. These aspects of structure were: the degree of departmentalization, the student-teacher ratio, and the number of non-teaching, administrative positions in the school. Several explanations might account for the lack of relationship between the normative output and the degree of departmentalization. Two explanations are described briefly here. The first explanation centres on in-school observation of the operations of the schools investigated. Some of the

open plan schools had been in operation a relatively short period of time, a year and a half in some cases. It appeared that some teachers has not yet realized the possibilities for individualizing programs which these settings offered. This put some teachers in the position of trying to operate a traditional program in, perhaps, six times the area of the traditional classroom. As a consequence, it seemed that such teachers oriented toward students in a highly universalistic and specific manner typical of the teacher in the deviant rotary schools. To the extent that this observation is representative of all open plan schools, it follows that the teachers' lack of ability to use the facilities of the open plan school would explain the lack of significant differences in normative outcomes between schools of differing degrees of departmentalization. A second explanation centres in the fact that, although degree of departmentalization may be described by the three categories used in this study, within schools of one type, it may be possible for sub-classes of organizational structure to exist, structures which are inherently different in their effects on normative outcomes. For example, Lortie (1964, pp. 272-80) found that, within schools organized for team teaching, two forms of relationships were possible: (1) a vertical-bureaucratic form where the team leader becomes part of the administrative hierarchy and holds both control and co-ordinative powers over teacher subordinates, or (2) a horizontal-collegial form in which team members constitute a egalitarian, self-regulating group. Lortie speculated about possible outcome of each team arrangement. The vertical-bureaucratic form was expected to be more compatible with teaching specific skills than with arousing questioning attitudes and egalitarian values among students. The later

set of outcomes would be more likely to appear under the horizontal-collegial form. In several of the open plan and rotary schools observed in this study, some of the instruction was given by teams of teachers. It is possible that a variety of forms of teacher relationships were distributed among these teaching teams thereby reducing the possibility of a clear relationship between the variable of departmentalization and the normative outcomes of the school experience.

The analysis of the revised hypotheses has shown that schools of similar size and degree of departmentalization may offer different kinds of work group experiences to their students. This fact was revealed by the examination of the deviant rotary schools. Thus, if the sort of work group experience is important in explaining normative outcomes, then it seems reasonable to find no clear relationship, in this study between student-teacher ratio and the normative outcomes. This follows from the notion that two schools, identical with respect to student-teacher ratio, could offer quite different work group experiences to students. A parallel argument could be made for the fact that no clear relationship was found between the number of non-teaching administrative positions in the school and the normative outcomes of schooling which were examined in this study.

In Conclusion

Perhaps one of the major contributions of the study described in this paper lies in its demonstration of the range of variables required to understand the processes by which young people acquire norms. This range of variables has been shown to include not only background variables such as the measure of socio-economic status and

contextual variables such as the measures of the organizational structure of schools but also variables which indicate the feelings of young people about other norms. The importance of the last type of variable was illustrated in this study by the part played by the measure of acceptance of universalism for personal, non-school situations in explaining students' acceptance of universalism for adult situations. The entire range of these variables should be considered in planning future investigations in this area. Finally, the organizational structure of schools was examined mainly in terms of gross variables such as school size. Further studies could examine organizational arrangements in greater detail in order to understand the way in which aspects of school structure, such as size, carry implications for the experiences of children in school and the norms which they abstract from their experiences. Such studies are justified in the light of the fact that knowledge of the kinds of work group arrangements in schools contributed to an explanation of the existance of the deviant schools which appeared in this study.

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